L: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU2I Papago NU2I

In the southern part of the reservation the dance lasted four nights(19); in the northern part, a whole month. It was given wherever the family happened to be, either in camp or in a permanent village. "We used to have good times in cactus camp," one informant said, "because somebody would be sure to reach puberty, and then we would dance all the time."(16)

The length of the time of dancing depended on the wealth of the girl's parents, since they must give a meal to the dancers every night. Poor people might omit the dance entirely, trusting to purification by the shaman to relieve the girl from danger. People who were well supplied sent word to neighboring villages and camps as soon as the girl's four-day seclusion was over, and crowds arrived every night to join in the gaiety.

There were several men in any village who knew the appropriate songs. These they might have dreamed during some period of purification, or they might have learned them from others. The position of song leader for this dance was a popular one, since the leader dipped next to the maiden. He and other men dancers received no pay except a meal at midnight. Their enjoyment of the dance came from the license permitted. The young girl dancers received gifts from the maiden, "because they stayed up all night with her." If the dance lasted a month, she generally, when it ended, had disposed of all her clothes and ornaments except what she wore.

In this dance men and women stood side by side in two lines which faced each other. They placed their arms over each other's shoulders and pulled their blankets across in front of them to make an unbroken covering for the whole line. This was the only dance where such close contact was permitted.

At the end of one line danced the song leader, with the maiden at his left and the rattle in his right hand. His wife danced opposite. The lines walked back and forth toward each other singing, for there was no choir on this occasion. After each four songs they rested, though the girl herself was not supposed to sit down. Her family provided a nonintoxicating drink of cactus juice or some brew of berries and fruit. For the meal at midnight they might kill a deer or provide a stew of rabbits, beans, and corn.

If the dance lasted a month, more than one song leader had to

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NUHI Papago NUHI

ECONOMICS

511 556 Poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Papago did not hoard property; they did not quarrel about land boundaries; they were constantly giving, as though from an inexhaustible supply. The answer is that the supply, meagre though it was from the modern point of view, was sufficient, for their simple needs and more.

431 Food was the principal gift and food will not keep in that hot country except in dehydrated form. Because of the migratory life, it must be left unguarded in storehouses and caches, subject to attack by animals or enemies. Better to dispose of any surplus while it was available and palatable and thus invest in good will! And anything but starvation rations was considered a surplus. The [262] standard meal was corn meal gruel: luxuries much beyond that were donated with lavish hand and never missed.

Giving became the regular Papago investment and the franker individuals say so. It never reached the extravagant proportions demanded in the Plains for all Papago life was in a gentler key. But one who gained the reputation of stinginess had damned his prospects in village and family life while the lavish giver not only achieved honor but had a continual income pouring in. For all gifts were returned, in equal quantity and more. The constant exchange [ ] of goods in the form of gifts was the Papago equivalent for trade and merged only occasionally into trade in the stricter sense. Papago economics involves principally the study of groups which had gift relations.

The center of the system was the patriarchal family which, rather than the individual, must be taken as the unit both of property holding and of gift exchange. The family was a business concern, producing and disposing of goods under the direction of its male and female heads, and such production meant a full time occupation. This was not the sort of society where the men, when not hunting or [461 fighting, had the privilege of leisure: the men were day laborers like 562] the women. All rose with the morning star, rested in the heat of noon and did not stop work until dark. It was slow motion labor, for the heat forbids haste. But it was unremitting. Industry was the prime virtue and no one could get a mate or keep one without it.

221 462 We have noted the division of labor between male and female: a division so sharp that it kept the two sexes in separate groups during

THE DESERT PEOPLE

342 566 Thus the type of house is something of an index to the occupant's economic status. In the more prosperous eastern districts, adobe construction has been so widely accepted that a wattle house is a fairly sure sign that the occupants have a below-average income. In the western districts, however, a wattle house is far more often a sign of resistance to white culture. For example, at the time of this study all the houses in two of the most conservative villages in Hickiwan District were wattle-and-daub, regardless of the individual owner's economic status.

The type of house roof is also an index to prosperity or acculturation or both. Despite the fact that a roof of thatch overlaid with dirt is cooler in summer and warmer in winter, any eastern Papago who can possibly afford it will roof his house with wood, tar paper, or tin. There is one advantage in the white man's roof—it does not leak as much as a dirt roof.

The visitor can also see evidence of economic status and of attitude toward whites in the house furnishings. The poorer families and those antagonistic to white culture have dirt floors and few tables, chairs, beds, stoves, glass window panes, and "store" dishes. In relatively prosperous and acculturated homes—considerably more numerous in the East than in the West—house furnishings may include a good stove, a kerosene refrigerator, a washing machine, and a phonograph or battery radio. In these homes, chairs, tables, beds, some type of stove, and "store" dishes are regarded as necessary for comfort; when families from such homes go to the cactus camp and do without these things, they feel that they are "camping out."

352 558

[In a Catholic home there is always a little altar, a small table or shelf draped with white. Here one sees saints or holy pictures, a candle in a red glass, and perhaps some paper flowers, the alarm clock, a pencil, and other odds and ends that are not considered out of place here.]

342 [444] All houses and storerooms, however flimsily built, have doors and some kind of lock. Storerooms are kept locked even during the day except when someone is working close by, and houses are locked when the family goes away for even part of a day. "No one from here would steal anything, but a stranger might."

356 515 House and yard are almost invariably neat and clean; even dirt floors are sprinkled and swept every morning. The Papago also values personal neatness and cleanliness. Neither is easy to achieve in this dusty, water-scarce country.

513 Sleeping arrangements vary greatly according to personal predilection. Most people, except the very old, now have beds, but everyone can, and frequently does, sleep on the floor or the ground without discomfort. As a matter of fact, some of the beds are without mattresses or springs; the owners merely

[Text continues on p. 44-Analyst]

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ever. Duties had to be done—[illegible] easily and well done—but results could be 163
obtained only by co-operation, not by the strength or cleverness of the
individual alone. The more gifted and [illegible] were looked
upon with friendly appreciation or [illegible] by the supernatural, but they were not admired [illegible]

Much of the ancient Papago cul[illegible] and many of its concepts seem to be
alive today; and, though numerou[illegible] old traditions and customs may have
broken down, it usually takes mo[illegible] than thirty or forty years to change a
fundamental philosophy of life. Th[illegible] 153
country studied do not show the per[illegible] 177
culture, and reports of their general [illegible] support the findings of
the tests. However, slight traces of [illegible] influence upon western Papago chil-
dren may be seen in their growing [illegible] interest in competitive games.

There are still other signs of wh[illegible] influence in the eastern districts, the
most important probably being the [illegible] given to native cere-
monies and fiestas which, as Table [illegible] shows, seems much weaker than in the
western districts. Here may be seen [illegible] the Papago "plasticity" to alien influences—
a plasticity arising from their own [illegible] loosely knit cultural forms, allowing them
to take on foreign symbols without [illegible] crucial difficulties and to fill them with
their own spirit.

The differences between the two districts regarding happiness derived from 153
gifts and property are consistent throughout the Emotional Response Test.
The western children attach not only greater pleasure from property but also
deeper concern about its loss.

"THE BEST THING"

These differences become more evident if we expand our inquiry beyond
the area of happy experience to that of openly admitted desire. When the
children were asked, "What is the best thing that could happen to you?" the
writer expected the answers to give a glimpse of the needs and drives arising
from actual conditions of life as they are realized by children. By limiting the
request to the "best thing" and at the same time widening the area from the
actual experience of the child to desires represented, felt, and seen in the whole
surrounding world (including that of adults), this question may register more
clearly than selective memory (as dreamed with our simple, direct method)
the extent and strength of various influences, including the images deriving
from models, tales, and teachings.

For example, western Papago children consider property—especially 153
money—as the "best thing" that could happen to them. It might well be in- 556

lacked that these children remembered few occasions in which they were happy because they had money but that many of them felt the need for it sufficiently to deem possession of it the best thing that could happen. We have learned that, on the average, the western farming area has less favorable conditions of soil and climate than the eastern, and the number of comparatively wealthy cattle owners in the West is negligible. In the West, therefore, the necessity of having cash with which to buy food and clothing is more widely and sought for. Seasonal wage work in the cotton fields attracts a greater percentage of families from the area than from the East, where wage work [illegible]

TABLE 16

"THE BEST THING THAT COULD HAPPEN" AS DETERMINED FROM COMPLETION OF THE SENTENCE "WHEN I GROW UP I HOPE I WILL BE ..." BY PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN

The Thing	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago[1]	White[2]
Property	43	18	31	23
Money	34	9		
Cattle	9	9		
Personal achievement	9	31	9	26
Food	5	2		
Meeting social expectations		23	11	4
School		9	5	
Personal goodness		4	4	1
Work		6	3	11

[a] For source of data see Table 4.

[1] Data for white children are for ages eight to eighteen. Hence, for purposes of comparison, only the Papago children of these ages are included in figures for "All Papago" (col. 4). Thus column 3 does not represent an average of columns 1 and 2, which include children six to eighteen.

[2] "School and school activities; job and employment; work and helping at home; growing up; all outdoor areas of achievement."

for the government) seems to be done more often to provide additional comforts than to satisfy vital needs.

Although the desirability of property and money is probably greater in the West because of specific circumstances, the *fundamental* attitude toward money and property in both districts is likely to be very different from that of white children, even if whites and Indians use the same formulations.

Whoever has observed the behavior of an average Papago in possession of cash knows that, at least ninety times out of a hundred, the Papago will spend most of his money at once at the trader's, at a fiesta, or in town (see chap. iii). For him, money's essential value seems to lie in its conversion into pleasure and into the satisfaction of immediate needs. It usually provides prestige only in the form of a particularly beautiful saddle or occasionally of a car, a radio, or a sewing machine; on the average it is not accumulated.

EMOTIONAL PATTERNS OF PAPAGO CHILDREN

The Papago child who receives money as the first thing thus shows an attitude apparently similar to and often identical with the one who receives [illegible]. Money for him has, as for his elders, the significance of immediate gratification. More than [illegible] the needs of an ancient [illegible] culture are met with the tools of a recently introduced, alien, [illegible] and colored system.

After wages could have been established, money is used chiefly to obtain the sort of pleasure specific to all Papago culture, i.e., ritualistic and emotional relaxation after the routine of work. The use that the users of money make of it has changed but already [illegible], and it seems likely that increasingly it is the disintegration of the individual and the group.

Before money played an appreciable role in Papago life, relaxation was found mainly in the common ceremonial gatherings which were regularly repeated between intervals of certain work. At some of these gatherings a number of behavior restrictions were temporarily lifted, and, in the eyes of his people, the individual had wide license to seek personal pleasure. At one of the main ceremonial gatherings—the wine ceremony—wine from the juice of the saguaro cactus played an essential role in inducing the desired relaxation. Becoming drunk to unconsciousness from this wine was seen as a magic device, symbolic of the rain that drenches the earth into fertility. Perhaps in this state of ritual drunkenness, a dream was sometimes hoped for and received.

With the advent of money, pleasure and relaxation which had previously been institutionalized, anticipated for months, prepared for by the whole community, and enjoyed by the individual with approval of the group could be bought by the wage-earner for himself alone and for his near-relatives and friends. What he got for his money was, however, very different from the pleasure his people had been trained for and had delighted in for centuries.

The Papago can buy necessary food, clothes, blankets, and tools on the Reservation, but pleasures as he wants them are not for sale. In the nearest towns, what few opportunities for amusement are available and comprehensible to him—a rare circus performance, a football game, the celebrations and parades of holidays, the movies—are full of the spirit of an alien culture, and he participates in them as an Indian among whites, as a stranger in a foreign country.

The only pleasure on sale which resembles the one he is used to (and at the same time can make him oblivious to the problems and conflicts arising from new and changed conditions) is alcohol. The sale of alcohol to Indians is illegal, and drunkenness is condemned by the government under whose

4: Joseph et al D, E-6 (1942-1943) 1949
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administration he is living. But the Papago carries in himself the encouraging remembrance of traditional ceremonial sanctions; challenging the law made by white people, he spends a great deal of his money on drinks bought in town or smuggled across the Mexican border near the Reservation.

Though drunkenness resulting from whiskey or gin gives the Papago pleasure of complete relaxation, and perhaps even liberates, it lacks the assurance and security which derive from the unity of purpose and common approval granted to everybody in the drinking ceremonials. In magic and religious ceremonies will gradually give believers a growing confidence in the pleasure of their craft. There is no doubt that with increased wage-earning the number of acts of violence, of disrupted family relations from drunkenness, of Papago men apprehended and placed in the county jail for short periods will increase. But steadily more. We shall return to these facts in Chapter XVI, and we shall meet how common the children are of them.

Because of the subordinate function of money as a means of prestige and achievement among the Papago, and because of its quite preponderant conversion into a pleasure object, though similar to the traditional situation, lacks most of the conservative value of its model, the high rank of money among the best things mentioned by western Papago children seems alarming. This part of the Reservation is the least acculturated to the spirit of modern white civilization. At the same time, it is driven by its economic predicament to make use of the modern white system of wage work. The conditions surrounding this wage work—mainly in the cotton fields and mines—are not such as to further a psychological and spiritual adjustment to white culture. The incorporation of the money concept into the values of western Papago children seems to indicate that this paradoxical and disruptive situation is being increasingly accepted by their group.

In the eastern children's answers, money as the best thing does not occupy a conspicuous place. Here, though wage work is also done in the cotton fields or for the government, the need for it is less vital. While the Papago principle of pleasure is operating here too, and drunkenness is a similar problem, longer and more continuous contacts with noneconomic aspects of white civilization—in the near-by Agency, in the many and more regularly attended schools, in the missions—have apparently brought about change of values. School, the prestige of a "nice" job, work itself, and good character are of some importance in the East but are not mentioned in the West.

In both communities personal achievement is valued more highly as a best thing than as a pleasant experience. Perhaps this is partly due to schooling (which itself has competitive elements) and to the models of personal achieve-

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

177 578 caught by the re-evaluation of their concepts of life may be indicated briefly as follows:

1. They have been taught to use the principle of cooperative family organization and have experienced its satisfactory functioning, which implies the reliance of everyone on everyone else, the condemnation of individual aims which might disturb this organization, and a compelling tendency and accomplishment, wherever the individual finds himself in a group situation.

[illegible]

2. White concepts of the acquisition and accumulation of personal property for prestige and power are strange to the Papago, to whom personal property 157 556 177 consisted of a few objects for wear and use which were destroyed at his death. Prestige and power came from the wisdom of age and experience or from grace given by the supernatural.

Today the value of personal property is clearly demonstrated by white people in their display of clothes, furniture, and cars, in the way they spend money at the trader's, in the esteem and praise they give the Papago family with greater means of subsistence than others. The restrictive aspects of property have been demonstrated by mission and school, which accent the sanctity of personal property and the wickedness of stealing, and by government's measures to apportion and guard grazing land by districts. The value of personal property is being inculcated into the Papago by the insistent inquisitiveness of administrative employees about exactly what belongs to whom and why, and who has the right to sell a specific cow and who has not. Finally, it has been brought home to them as pay for their labor—individual wages in money for individual work, to be spent by the receiver at his own will, automatically make him the master of his property, while

6: Joseph et al D.E-5 (1942-1943) 1949 go NU28
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...on payment in
...previously the Papago had known almost exclusively some-
...kind for common effort.

...ce only during
...Among the Papago, authority lay chiefly in the family, in growing with
...childhood but throughout life. Authority was exercised old men in the
...age and with increasing responsibility for themselves. The younger ones, who
...village council, gained only by family seniority to the would gain those
...had the necessary time slowly and gradually they too

...presentatives of
...tion and recog-
...rs and brothers
...sbyterian Mis-
...sidered by the
...But, while the
...ships between
...poral matters
...d magical con-
...influence such
...Papago family.

Representatives of the white administration, whether ...ing officials or
...just that many
members of the Agency established on the Reservation, ...uthority. They
more completely new additions to the Papago pattern of ...nts or parents,
do not offer any points of comparison to either the grandp...n bewildering
the medicine man, or the old men of the village council...ung men and
contrast, most of the new representatives are relatively ...o demonstrate
women, who rarely remain among the Papago long enough ...Papago always
the gradual growth in experience and wisdom which the ... sphere of in-
required from those to whom they granted authority. The...ic questions,
thereby, as it is concerned with organizational and econ... sphere of the
with education and with health, cuts clearly across the ...
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...ne new disci-
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...with teachings received at home. The discrepancy may be ...question—or it
...so, for instance, regarding the favorable evaluation of co..., as in the case
...may represent a change of emphasis upon specific attitudes ...school, which
...of the very high value given to certain rules of hygiene ...ese conditions,
...often must seem to the children an implicit criticism of ...

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17;Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

252 412 415 Cooking was done in a small roofless enclosure outside. There the woman kept her mealing slab—a rectangular block of granite hacked into shape with another stone. She had a mortar made of a section of cottonwood log, a large porous jar for drinking water, and a few smaller pots for cooking. Most of her utensils were baskets, for this migratory people found pottery a burden. There were large willow baskets for storage, others for winnowing, for parching seeds, and for eating and drinking. Willow baskets, tightly woven and water-tight when wet, took the place of dishes. Some households owned no pottery except the water-jar.

291 302 Clothing, in the older times, was of skins, the man wearing a breechcloth of buckskin, the woman a buckskin skirt, while those who could trade for cotton had a one-piece, wrap-around cotton skirt. Both sexes wore their hair long but tied it up with a strand of grass while at work. For warmth they often covered their bodies with grease, and on ceremonial occasions added to the grease [304] red and white paint. Women were tattooed with four lines from mouth to chin, in zigzags, dots, or merely straight lines.

291 The Papagos were a sandal-wearing people. For long journeys they made sandals, first of basketry materials and later of cowhide, but while at home they went barefoot. Occasionally we hear of the rabbit skin blanket which was so long known among their neighbors both of Arizona and California.

442 Papago women, busy with basketry, pottery, and the gathering of wild foods, did little work at agriculture, so the men took care of the fields and did the hunting. They also had to make frequent war expeditions to pursue marauding Apaches who raided their villages to take away crops, women, and later cattle and horses. Men also made trading expeditions to the Pimas and into Mexico. As a 535 means of acquiring wealth in these primitive times gam-
● 536 bling should not be overlooked, for success in the ancient

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

Indian games of hidden ball, stick dice, and "quince" was one means to fame and prosperity. Athletic contests in which the youths of the different villages contended at kick ball and relay racing were yearly events, and a fast runner, famous in racing, was as highly esteemed as any warrior.

In government[1] the Papago unit was the village. There were several large villages, each with a few outlying settlements which were governmentally a part of it, obeying its officers and taking part in all its ceremonies. The head man of this village had no executive authority but was rather a patriarch and a priest. He knew the ritual for the different ceremonies and had charge of the sacred objects belonging to the village. His title has been translated "Keeper of the Smoke."

The brush house in which he lived was made extra large and was used as a meeting place by the men of the village, who formed an informal council. The Keeper of the Smoke passed his functions to a male relative or descendant, but there was no rule of primogeniture. Any of his relatives who seemed best suited would be instructed by him in the duties of office, but the village as a whole must finally ratify the choice. The villages each had a crier who called to the council meeting and to war. They might have an elected war leader if the Keeper of the Smoke were not fitted for battle.

After the coming of the Spaniards a much more rigid organization was adopted. The Spaniards installed in their villages a "governor" who was an executive with authority and power to punish evil doers by flogging. At least in the part of Papagueria nearest to Mexico this custom continued until recent times, so that now there is much confusion between the old idea of the village patriarch and the modern one of governor or chief.

The Papagos were divided into sibs with descent in the male line. Even in tradition, however, these gentes did not affect the marriage rules; one knew to which gens

1. This section dealing with government and social organization has been abstracted from Papago Social Organization by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).

17:Cassetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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the buckskin lacing. Another type of sandal is described as made of two thicknesses of deerskin dyed red and bound together at the edge with white deerskin. The "rich" had buckskin moccasins to the knee.

Pouches were made for carrying tobacco, paints and fetishes, the simplest being a round piece of dressed buckskin fringed all around the edge and tied up with a thong. All those made at present are of dyed buckskin (colored red with dye from the root of *Krameria glandulosa)* made of two semi-circular pieces sewed together, with fringe around the seam and a flap fastened by a knot of thong serving as a button. Others were made of rabbit skin *(Lepus* sp.) or sometimes fox *(Vulpes fulvus)* with the fur left on.

No headdress was ordinarily worn, although warriors had various caps and ornaments. The *siwoṭ* was a single upright plume, stuck in a headband which might be woven or be merely a deerskin thong. The *pitcpoṭ* was a row of feathers around the head like a crown thrust under a buckskin band. A more elaborate bonnet was the *acki wonam* —a buckskin cap with upright feathers sewed closely all over it with an especially high tuft on the top. There is also mention of a cap of peccary skin *(Pecari angulatus)* fitting closely to the head with upright eagle *(Aquila chrysaetos)* or hawk feathers (because they are the best fighters) sewed around its edge and a mask of buckskin hanging over the face and tied around the neck. Warriors might also tie a bunch of eagledown to the hair at the top of the head, or some long feathers to the hair at the back.

Men wishing to keep their hair out of their eyes tied it with a deerskin thong, or for gala occasions with a woven headband of red and white cotton. For war they tied it at the back of the neck with a deerskin thong, then twisted the mass into a short club wound about with deerskin, and this was specifically called the war knot. Women always wore their hair loose except for a thong or a twist of grass tied around the forehead while working. In racing they brought the whole mass of hair up over the forehead and back again.